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HEAD OFFICE

P.O. Box: 22743, Riyadh 11416 K.S.A. Tel: 00966-1-4033962/4043432 Fax: 4021659
E-mail: ryadh@dar-us-salam.com, darussalam@awinet.net.sa Website: www.dar-us-salam.com

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- Darussalam, New York 401 Atlantic Ave, Brooklyn**
New York-11217, Tel: 001-718-625 5925
Fax: 718-625 1511
E-mail: newyork@dar-us-salam.com.

U.K

- Darussalam International Publications Ltd.**
Leyton Business Centre
Unit-17, Elbow Road, Leyton, London, E10 7BT
Tel: 0044 20 8539 4885 Fax: 0044 20 8539 4889
Mobile: 0044-7947 30 6 708
- Darussalam International Publications Limited**
146 Park Road,
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NSW 2195, Australia
Tel: 0061-2-97407188 Fax: 0061-2-97407189
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- Darussalam International Publication Ltd.**
No. 109A, Jalan SS 21/1A, Damansara Utama,
47400, Petaling Jaya, Selangor, Darul Ehsan, Malaysia
Tel: 00603 7710 9750 Fax: 603 7710 0749
E-mail: darussalam@streamyx.com &
darussalam.malaysia@yahoo.com

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Tel: 0027-31-304-6883
Fax: 0027-31-305-1292
E-mail: idm@icon.co.za

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Publisher's Note

Darussalam feels proud to present another book on the life of the Prophet ﷺ. He was the most outstanding person that the world has seen. He was a religious guide, a social and moral reformer, a political visionary, a military general, and an administrator who founded a state, built a nation and established a dynamic society to usher in a new philosophy of human thought, action and behavior. Moreover, he accomplished all these in a short period of only twenty-three years. There is no human in history who contributed to humanity so much in such diverse fields, as did the Prophet ﷺ.

Although there have been other Prophets in the past who contributed their share to the world, but as they were sent to particular nations or geographical regions, we find no traces of them as regards details of their lives and teachings, the time and place of their birth, and details about the exact impact they produced on the human society. This is not the case with the Prophet ﷺ. We know about his birth, childhood, the latter days until he got married, the beginning of his mission, the difficulties he faced, his migration, his success, have all been fully and accurately documented and preserved for the rest of the time.

Today, after more than 1400 years, details of the life, manners, actions and teachings of the Prophet ﷺ are available without any loss, alteration or modification. They offer the same light for treating the many ills of our times as in the past, but in fact acquire greater importance in view of new dimensions to human suffering because of the wrong policies of those countries that consider themselves above the Law. The United Nations and other bodies that were set up to secure the rights of the wronged are being manipulated to oppress weaker nations, resulting in untold sufferings, and desperate acts on the part of the victims.

The Prophet ﷺ had also made a body to secure the rights of the oppressed, but it was not a window dressing. It was a grand success for the honesty behind it. In the words of Prof. Hurgonje, "The League of Nations founded by Prophet of Islam put the principle of

international unity of human brotherhood on such universal foundations as to show candle to other nations. The fact is that no nation of the world can show a parallel to what Islam has done towards the realization of the idea of the League of Nations." George Bernard Shaw said, "If Muhammad were alive today, he would succeed in solving all those problems which threaten to destroy human civilization in our times."

Let us study the life of the Prophet ﷺ whose teachings and examples can change our lives, our thinking, our behavior and the whole world for the better. He is truly a Blessing for Mankind. May Allāh shower His blessings on him!

Abdul-Malik Mujahid
General Manager
Darussalam

Translator's Note

Historical personalities fade with time. But this is not true of the Prophet of Islam, on whom be peace. Our own times are witnessing a renewed interest in him, his character and his message. Written both by Muslims as well as non-Muslims, books continue to appear on him at a regular pace.

The work at hand is one of the most comprehensive ones of our times. It stands out in a few ways. First, every detail has been traced back to the original sources. Second, events of the Prophet's life have been related to modern times and lessons drawn for the benefit of those who happen to face similar situations in their struggle to spread the Islamic faith. The author's complete objectivity could be cited as another outstanding characteristic of the book. In contrast with the Western method - of judging a personality they struggle to come to terms with - Dr. Mahdi Rizqullah Ahmad meticulously chronicles the life as preserved by the earliest authorities, and leaves the reader to make his own judgment.

Except for the author's foreword, which has been considerably reduced in size, and which introduces source books and authors, the rest of the book has been translated in full. Subsequent to the publication of the work in Arabic (called, *As-Sirah An-Nabawiyyah, fi Daw Al-Masādir Al-Asliyyah, Dirāsah Tahliliyyah*, Faisal Foundation, Riyadh, 1992), the author has continued to work and has produced some 56 pages of fresh material to be added to future publications. These pages, still in manuscript form, have been incorporated in this translation.

A word about the equivalents to the technical terms used by *Hadith* scholars is perhaps in order. To allow for fluency, I have substituted Arabic terms with words closest in English, not unaware that sometimes they can be misleading. For example, to render a *Da'if Hadith* as a 'weak report' is far from satisfactory. The term *Da'if* needs a lengthy definition. Not every *Da'if* report is untrustworthy.

Moreover, the connotation carried by the term 'weak' is sometimes not there in the original. This applies to several terms used in *Hadith* criticism. But the difficulty in using original Arabic terms is that they affect the flow. Therefore, terms such as 'Good' for *Hasan* reports, 'Disconnected' for *Mursal*, 'Suspended' or 'Discontinued' for *Mu'allaq* or *Mawquf*, 'Interrupted' for *Munqati*, etc., have had to be employed. Where an easy rendering was not possible, the original was used. The reader will have to look into a work on *Hadith* Criticism to understand the exact implication of these various Arabic terms.

The translator has tried to retain the author's style of writing, but not at the cost of inaccuracy. The endeavor has been to give minimum possible idiomatic turn to his phrases and sentences.

This translation was originally done at the request of World Association of Muslim Youth, Eastern Province, Saudi Arabia (WAMY), who got it read by the author himself, and then by two other persons. Both the brothers preferred to remain anonymous, but offered some very good suggestions and are responsible in no small way for the improvements in the translation. In addition, the first chapter was read through by another anonymous person who also helped remove some defects. Finally, brother Ali Haider of Darussalam did the painstaking job of correcting, formatting and indexing work of the book. May Allah reward them all generously.

Brother Abdul-Malik Mujahid of Darussalam needs special mention for his personal interest and earnestness, which went above business considerations, without which this book would not have appeared in the present form. May Allah reward him amply; He is the best of those who reward.

Syed Iqbal Zaheer

Dammam, KSA

August 2005

Preface

It has not been my endeavor to merely gather together under one title all the narratives that have come down to us concerning Prophet Muhammad ﷺ, but rather to present those that are fairly reliable for their authenticity. Reports not so reliable have only been used in matters not pertaining to the creed or law. The large number of footnotes was therefore necessary. They demonstrate that if a narrative reported in biographies or war chronicles did not meet with the strict conditions set by *Hadith* scholars, then, there were others that supported it, or which offered circumstantial evidences, thus elevating the narrative to the level of acceptance for historical purposes. They also demonstrate that if Muslim historians did not observe strict rules of acceptance or rejection that the *Hadith* scholars had set for themselves, then, at least they had strong grounds to report what they were reporting. [One might note in this connection that if the rules of acceptance and rejection commonly observed by the Muslim historians were applied to world historical writings, perhaps very little would remain to report — *Translator*.]

Objectives

The objectives for the study of the Prophet's life can be several. A few may be noted here.

1. It helps a Muslim apply to everyday life what he learns of the commandments and injunctions as contained in the Qur'an and *Sunnah* (and as applied by the Prophet ﷺ to his own life).
2. Following the Prophet's example requires not a cursory, but a close study of the details of his life, manners, activities, etc., during different phases of his life. Allāh has said: "There is indeed for you in the Prophet a good example for him who hopes for

*Allāh and the Hereafter, and who remembers Allāh much.*¹

3. Following the Prophet's example in every detail of life is a sign of one's love of him. Allāh said: "Say: If you love Allāh, follow me, Allāh will love you."²
4. It helps learn about miracles and evidences that the Prophet ﷺ performed which go to prove his credibility and which in turn strengthens one's faith in him.
5. A thorough study of his life helps a person understand the Qur'ān better, having found how closely the two are related.

Sources

1. The Qur'ān

The Qur'ān, of course, is the first source for the biography of the Prophet ﷺ. It offers graphic details of various events of his life. Since the preservation of the Qur'ān in its pristine form is an indisputable fact, it lends credence to what is preserved in *Hadith* and history literature, which record the same events with greater details. However, to profit fully from the Qur'ān, one needs to deepen his or her understanding of it. This is largely obtained through the study of the type of commentaries that are known as *Tafsir bil-Mā'thur* (commentaries based on report). The *Tafsir* of Ibn Jarir Tabari is the leading commentary of this kind. Next comes that of Ibn Kathir, followed by Suyuti's *Ad-Durr Al-Manthur*.³

2. Hadith

Hadith scholars such as Imam Bukhāri, Muslim, Tirmidhi, or

¹ Surat Al-Ahzāb: 21.

² Surat Āl Imrān: 31.

³ See Dr. Fāruq Hamādah: *Masādirus-Siratin-Nabawiyyah wa Taqwimuha*, pp. 34-35.

others offer us a lot of material on the Prophet's life, dealing with his daily activities, manners, personal qualities, details of battles, etc., under separate headings. But, materials pertaining to other details are spread far and wide in *Hadith* literature.⁴ Every collection of *Hadith* has some information or the other to offer, either directly or through implication. Then there are books written to describe the Prophet's personal qualities, habits, apparel, and several other things about his person — the class of books known as *Shamā'il*. In addition, there are works that deal specifically with his miracles or evidences of his authenticity as a Prophet. To get an idea of the vast amount of material available, one may cite the example of a single work: Ahmad bin Hanbal's *Musnad*. In the rearranged version of Sā'āti, almost the entire volumes 13, 20, 21 and 22 are devoted to various aspects of the Prophet's life. We might remind that the *Musnad* alone has, depending on how they are counted, anything between thirty to forty thousand traditions.⁵

3. Biography Works and War Chronicles

These contain the bulk of material on the life of the Prophet ﷺ, especially the details. The first to enter the field were led by one of the Prophet's Companions: 'Abdullah bin 'Abbās. He was followed by such noted second-generation scholars as Sa'eed bin Sa'd Khazraji, Sahl bin Abu Hathmah Ansāri, 'Urwah bin Zubayr, Sa'eed bin Musaiyab, and several others. The second century of Islam saw an explosion of activities. Qāsim bin Muhammad bin Abu Bakr, Wahb bin Munabbih, Abul-Aswad, Musā bin 'Uqbah, Muhammad bin Ishāq, and several others dominated the field. By the third century of course, there were as many in the field as to need a whole volume to describe their activities.

⁴ We might point out here that *Hadith* collectors of the like of Bukhāri, Muslim, the rest of the six, Imam Ahmad, Hākim and others have made great contributions towards the preservation of details concerning the life of the Prophet ﷺ.

⁵ See *Musnad* (1/32-33), *Sharh li Ahmad Muhammad Shākir* under *Talā' Al-Kitāb Al-Mis'ad Al-Ahmad fi Khatm Musnad Al-Imam Ahmad* by Hāfiz Shamsuddin bin Jazari.

Of the leading chroniclers of the third generation, the better known are Ibn 'Uqbah (parts of whose works were published by Edward Sachau along with German translation); Ibn Ishāq, a major portion of whose contribution is preserved in Ibn Hishām's work (edited by Dr. Hamidullah of India); and Wāqidi (whose work was published in three volumes by Marsdon Jones). Ibn Sa'd is another prolific writer who left behind him a massive work in seven volumes, of which the first and second volumes deal with the life of the Prophet ﷺ.⁶ Two volumes of Fizārī's *Siratur-Rasul* were recently discovered in the library of Qarawiyyin University, Morocco, and as edited by Dr. Fāruq Hamādah, are to appear shortly in print form. Quite a few of course both ancient and modern are still in manuscript form, spread in the libraries of the vast Islamic world.

Ibn Ishāq:

Of the above, perhaps the most famous is the work of Ibn Ishāq (d. 150 AH) entitled *Sirat Rasulullah*. His wide knowledge, sequential method of narration, and combination of several reports into one to offer a summary, are some of the reasons why he has been popularly read.⁷ The above are also the reasons for the popularity of Wāqidi and his pupil Ibn Sa'd,⁸ but Ibn Ishāq remains the more referenced.

A descendent of a freed slave of Iraq,⁹ Ibn Ishāq was brought up in Madinah where he joined the study circles of the leading scholars of the time. Some have questioned his dependability. One of the

⁶ See Ziyād Muhammad Mansur, *Muqaddimah*. His verification of *At-Tabaqāt* of Ibn Sa'd, p. 51. Professor Ziyād has recounted several narratives that Ibn Sa'd took from his various masters.

⁷ See these points in Dr. Fāruq Hamādah, *Masādirus-Siratin-Nabawiyyah wa Taqwimuha*, pp. 71-72.

⁸ We might remember that Ibn Sa'd depended to a large extent on Wāqidi for his knowledge of the *Sirat*.

⁹ Ibn Sa'd: *At-Tabaqāt* (7/321); Khatib Baghdādī: *Tārīkh Baghdād* (1/214); Dhahabī: *Siyar A'lāmin-Nubalā'* (7/33).

reasons was that he was accused of being a Qadari.¹⁰ Imam Bukhāri for instance did not use his narratives except in hung reports.¹¹ However, men like Shu'bah bin Hajjāj, a major *Hadith* scholar of his time, treated him with great respect calling him *Amirul-Mu'minin fil-Hadith*. Yahya bin Ma'in, another great *Hadith* critic, declared him trustworthy. Yahya bin Sa'eed Qattān, Ahmad bin Hanbal, Yahya bin Sa'eed Ansāri, and several other scholars cleared him. Ibn Sayyidin-Nās¹² and Khatib Baghdādī¹³ have recorded for posterity all the opinions that were voiced about him.

However, that was about him in the field of *Hadith*, where very strict measures prevail. In biography and war chronicles, his mastery is acknowledged by consensus.¹⁴

His work's importance was enhanced by Ibn Hishām who abridged it and worked through only one of his sources: Bakkā'i.¹⁵

¹⁰ The Qadariyah say that Allāh's slaves carry out deeds that Allāh does not will and which Allāh has not decreed, such as, e.g., fornication, murder, etc. See 'Abdullah Sallum Sāmarrā'i: *Al-Ghulu wal-Firaql-Ghālīyah fil-Hadīratil-Islamiyyah*, p. 272.

¹¹ What is meant by a Suspended (*Mu'allaq*) report is the deletion of one or two narrators at the top. Sometimes this defect is clearly stated by the use of the term, "He said," but at other times not, rather by saying, "It is said." See Ibn Hajar: *Hadyus-Sāri*, ch. 4, p. 15 and what follows. For an example of the Suspended report, see Bukhāri/*Al-Fath* (15/141/The Book of *Maghāzi*).

¹² *Uyunul-Athar fi Funūnil-Maghāzi was-Siyar*, pp. 8-17.

¹³ *Tārīkh Baghdād* (1/214-215).

¹⁴ See his life in biography works. The following have been my own books of reference: Ibn Sayyidin-Nās, studies of Dr. Salmān Hamud 'Awdah; Dr. Hamādah; Studies of Shaykh Muhammad bin Rizq Tarhuni.

¹⁵ He is Ziyād bin 'Abdullah bin Tufayl Bakkā'i 'Āmiri (d. 183 AH). Ibn Hajar said about him in his *At-Taqrīb*: "A reliable man in war chronicles. But his reports from other than Ibn Ishāq are not so reliable. Bukhāri has reported through him once." I might point out that Suhayli said (1/6): "This person, Bakkā'i, is reliable through whom Bukhāri reported in his *Kitābul-Jihād* while Muslim reported through him in several places. This should be enough to accept him. Sometimes Ziyād mentioned through Humayd Tawil. Bukhāri mentioned Wakī' in his *Tārīkh* and said, "Ziyād is more honorable than that he should lie."

He ignored not only non-Bakkā'i narratives, but also those which did not deal directly with the Prophet's biography, such as, e.g., poetry that was said by the Companions and others at the time important events took place.¹⁶

Wāqidi:

A resident of Baghdad (d. 207 AH), he was another writer who was distrusted by some but trusted by others in *Hadith*. Bukhārī, Rāzi, Nasā'i and Dāraqutnī, for instance, considered him a pariah in *Hadith*. But Darāwardī, Yazid bin Hārūn, Abu Bakr Sa'nānī, Ibrāhīm Harbī¹⁷ and several others accepted his traditions. Ibn Sayyidīn-Nās has gathered together all the opinions about him.¹⁸ And, once again, no one denies his dependability in biographical matters or war reports.¹⁹

What distinguishes him is his treatment of the subject. His narratives follow an organized and logical pattern. For example, when narrating the campaigns, he started with a list of all those who conveyed the reports. Then he mentioned one campaign after another, stating the dates, discussing the geography of the places, ending with after other details the passwords that the Muslims used in various battles.²⁰

Ibn Sa'd:

A Hashimi (d. 207 AH), his full name was Muhammad bin Sa'd.

¹⁶ See Ibn Hishām, *As-Sirātun-Nabawiyyah* (1/36).

¹⁷ See Ibn Hajar: *Tahdhibut-Tahdhib* (9/364-365).

¹⁸ *Uyunul-Athar*, pp. 17-29.

¹⁹ See Ibn Tarhuni (1/24-29).

²⁰ For example, one of the code words of the Prophet ﷺ in one of his campaigns was *Amit*. Abu Dāwūd recorded it, as also Dārimi in his *Sunan*, ch. 14; Ahmad in his *Musnad* (4/46); Abu Shaykh in *Akhlaqun-Nabi*, p. 155. The Prophet ﷺ also said, "If you meet the enemy, your code word will be *Hā Mim*. *La yunsarūn*. Abu Dāwūd documented this in his *Sunan*, The Book of *Jihād*, no. 71; Imam Ahmad (4/65, 289); see Ibn Jawzī's *Al-Wafā'* as verified by Mustafa 'Abdul-Qādir 'Ata', p. 726, f.n. 28, 29 on report no. 1494, H. 1395.

He remained in Wāqidi's company for so long that he came to be known as his secretary. In fact, Wāqidi used to dictate to him. But that seems to have become his problem. For, he became unacceptable to those who distrusted Wāqidi. The most damaging opinion was of Ibn Ma'in who accused him of lying (in *Hadith* matters).²¹ Ziyād Mansur²² has mentioned the opinions of the critics and noted that Ibn Ma'in was a very severe critic.

It seems the critics did not have much against him, but rather against those from whom he reported. For example, Ibn Salah remarks, "He was himself trustworthy, but transmitted through untrustworthy narrators, such as Wāqidi."²³ Nevertheless, we find renowned scholars of *Hadith* such as Abu Hātim Rāzi, Dhahabi, or Ibn Hajar declaring him trustworthy. Further, if Ibn Sa'd's chains of narration had a few weak transmitters, it is nothing special to him. Several scholars of repute have also narrated through such transmitters.

4. Books on the Two Holy Harams

Books of this class also provide source material for the life of the Prophet ﷺ. One of the best and perhaps the most ancient is the one written by Abu Walid Muhammad bin 'Abdullah Azruqi (d. 250 AH). Another was by Fākihi (d. 280 AH) who wrote the history of Makkah and Madinah. Westfield's edited work lists Fākihi's additions to Azruqi's. 'Umar bin Shabbah (d. 262 AH) was another important contributor who wrote *Tārikhul-Madinah*. Ahmad Fāsi (d. 882 AH), originally of Morocco, who had migrated to Makkah, has two titles on the history of Makkah.²⁴

5. History Books

We are also indebted to general history works for providing

²¹ Khatib Baghdadi: *Tārikh Baghdad* (5/321).

²² *Muqaddimah* to his verification of *At-Tabaqātul-Kubra*, pp. 42-46.

²³ See Ibn Salah in *Muqaddimah Ibn Salah*, p. 599.

²⁴ See, Dr. Fāruq Hamadah, *Masādirus-Sirah*, pp. 78-79.

material for the life history of the Prophet ﷺ. The most extensive is that of Ibn Jarir Tabari (d. 310 AH) who wrote the massive *Tārīkhul-Umami wa-Rusuli wal-Muluk*. He was very knowledgeable in *Hadith*. He did not apply *Hadith* principles to historical matters. But of course, as he wrote in the preface to his work, "...we have presented here what was narrated to us."²⁵ (He means of course, by trustworthy people.)

Another historian, Khalifah bin Khayyāt 'Ufuri (d. 240 AH), actually preceded Tabari but his contribution is modest. He has around fifty pages on the Prophet's life in his *Tārīkh* in which he took all the material from Ibn Ishāq, but only through two of his narrators: Bakr bin Sulaymān²⁶ and Wahb bin Jarir bin Hāzim.²⁷ 'Ufuri himself was a trustworthy transmitter of *Hadith*²⁸ of such caliber that Bukhārī reported through him, hence, his reports are better authenticated.

Balādhuri (d. 355 AH—*Futuhul-Buldān*), Ahmad bin Jafar bin Wahb (d. 292 AH—*Tārīkh Ya'qubi*), Mās'udi (d. 346 AH—*Murujudh-Dhahab*) Ibn 'Asākir (d. 571 AH—*Tārīkh Dimashqul-Kabir*), Hafiz Dhahabi (d. 748 AH—*Tārīkhul-Islam*), and Ibn Kathīr (d. 774—*Al-Bidāyah wan-Nihāyah*) are some of the major contributors of history works. These books of course contain both well authenticated as well unauthenticated reports.²⁹

6. Literary Works

Finally, we might point out that standard literary works too

²⁵ *Tārīkh At-Tabari* (1/8).

²⁶ Bukhārī remained silent over it and Abu Hātim said, "He is unknown." See Bukhārī: *Tārīkhul-Kabir* (2/90). And Ibn Abu Hatim: *Al-Jarhu wat-Ta'dil* (1/1/387).

²⁷ Wahb: He is a reliable *Hadith* scholar (d. 206 AH). See *Taqribut-Tahdhīb*, p. 585. Jarir is also reliable in whose reports through Qatādah there is weakness. When he narrates through memory he commits errors, *At-Taqrib*, p. 138.

²⁸ Dr. Fāruq Hamādah, *Masādirus-Sirah*, p. 81. Dr. 'Umari, *Muqaddimah* to his *Tārīkh Ibn Khayyāt*, pp. 5-18.

²⁹ Dr. Fāruq Hamādah, *Masādirus-Sirah*, pp. 82-88.

provide some source material. Of the earliest is perhaps Jāhiz (d. 255 AH), who wrote *Al-Bayān wat-Tabyin* and *Al-Haywān*. Others have followed such as Mubarrad who wrote *Al-Kāmil*, or Abu Bakr Muhammad bin Qāsim Anbārī (d. 317 AH) who wrote *Al-Waqf wal-Ibtida' wal-Addād*. The best known of the later authors is perhaps Abul-Faraj Isfahānī (d. 356 AH) who wrote *Al-Āghānī*. However, most reports in these books are not well examined, nor the authors themselves were much concerned about this aspect. Abul-Faraj's work and personality have been much discussed. One might see Ibn Kathīr in this connection.³⁰

³⁰ *Al-Bidāyah wan-Nihāyah* (11/294).

Second Emigration to Abyssinia

When some of those who had migrated to Abyssinia returned, they discovered that the persecution of the Muslims had actually got intensified. The Prophet ﷺ too was a helpless witness to what was happening. So he allowed a second batch to emigrate. This time they were over eighty men and nineteen women.⁴⁹⁸ Other figures have been suggested.

Imam Ahmad⁴⁹⁹ has a report coming from Ibn Mas'ud ؓ. He

⁴⁹⁸ See Ibn Ishāq without a chain—*Sirat Ibn Hishām* (1/408); *Zādul Ma'ād* (3/26).

⁴⁹⁹ *Al-Musnad* (6/185/H. 4400/Shākir). Shākir said: "Its chain is *Hasan*." Ibn Kathir said in *Al-Bidāyah wan-Nihāyah* (3/77): "It has a strong chain. That report leads us to believe that Abu Musa was of those who migrated from Makkah to Abyssinia, if the report had not been interpolated by one of the narrators." He also said, "It is said that it is reported by Abu Ishāq through a different chain: Abu Burdah through Abu Musa. It is preserved by Abu Nu'aym in his *Dalā'il* (1/252). It says at the beginning, 'The Messenger of Allāh ordered us to accompany Ja'far bin Abu Tālib in the migration to Abyssinia...' At the end of the report he said, after mentioning Najāshi's good treatment of them: 'And he ordered us to be furnished with food and clothes...' Thereafter Ibn Kathir added (3/77): 'This is how Hāfiz Bayhaqi recorded in his *Dalā'il* (2/299-300) through Abu 'Ali Hasan bin Salām Sawwāq, through 'Ubaydullah bin Musa.' Then he mentioned through his chain until the words, 'And he ordered us to furnish with food and clothes.' Ibn Kathir said, 'This has an authentic chain.' Which leads us to believe that Abu Musa was in Makkah and that he left with Ja'far to the Abyssinian lands. But the correct position is that it was through Yazid bin 'Abdullah bin Abu Burdah through his grandfather Abu Burdah, and he through Abu Musa: that they learnt of the Prophet's journey (to Madinah) while they were in Yemen. So they left as immigrants some fifty of them in a ship that tossed them to the Najāshi in Abyssinia. There they met Ja'far bin Abu Tālib and his companions. Ja'far ordered him to stay with them, so they stayed put with him until they went down to the Prophet ﷺ during the Khayber campaign. He said, 'Abu Musa was witness to what transpired between Ja'far and Najāshi and so reported about it.' He said, 'Maybe the narrator fell into an error when he said, 'the Prophet ﷺ ordered us to go along (with Ja'far).' Allāh knows best."

Shākir commented on Ibn Kathir's arguments in words, "It is some good reasoning." See the footnote of the *Musnad* (6/187 and the previous notes).

said, "The Prophet ﷺ sent us to Najāshi. We were some eighty men including figures such as Ja'far, 'Abdullah bin 'Arfatah, 'Uthmān bin Maz'ūn and Abu Musa ..." He did not mention the number of women. Ibn Sa'd⁵⁰⁰ on the other hand mentioned the number of men as eighty-three and women as eighteen: eleven Qurayshi and seven non-Qurayshi. Ibn Ishāq⁵⁰¹ has thought (in his *As-Siyar wal-Maghāzi*) that they numbered more than eighty men. He mentioned the names of ten women. However, in his biographical⁵⁰² work he mentioned that they were eighty-three men and, if we are to include the new born (given birth by Raytah bint Hārith), then twenty women. Ibn Qaiyim⁵⁰³ stated that there were nineteen women. It seems there was discrepancy in the numbers because there were a few young girls that some counted, but others did not.

What strengthens the report of the biographers and war chroniclers is Imam Ahmad's narration mentioned earlier.

As for Abu Musa's return along with Ja'far, see *Bukhārī/Al-Fath* (15/36/H. 3872) which we shall present when dealing with the Khayber campaign, Allāh willing.

As regards Ibn Hajar, he tried to reconcile between the different narrations, to say that possibly he first migrated to Makkah, turned Muslim, so the Prophet ﷺ sent him to Abyssinia along with others he sent, so he first went to his ancestral lands which lay in front of Abyssinia on the eastern side. When he learnt of the Prophet ﷺ settling down in Madinah, he again migrated, along with those of his tribe who had become Muslims, but the sea waves tossed their boat to Abyssinia (*Al-Fath*, 15/32/...). This reconciliation was accepted by some scholars, including Sālihi in his *Sirat: Subulul-Huda war-Rashād* (2/533), and Sa'ud in his thesis for his Masters degree entitled: *Ahādithul-Hijrah* (p. 50) and 'Awdah in the foreword to his PhD thesis: Also *As-Sirātun-Nabawiyah fis-Sahihayn, wa-Inda Ibn Ishāq*, p. 301. Bukhārī and Muslim agree with Ibn Ishāq on the point that his return was in the company of Ja'far while the Prophet ﷺ was in Khayber, as we shall speak of when dealing with Khayber campaign.

⁵⁰⁰ *At-Tabaqāt* (1/207) with a weak chain; for it is a report of Wāqidi.

⁵⁰¹ P. 228.

⁵⁰² *Ibn Hishām* (1/408) without a chain, hence weak.

⁵⁰³ *Zādul-Ma'ād* (3/26) quoted from Ibn Ishāq in the *Sirat* but is weak.

Quraysh's Efforts to get back the Emigrants

Ibn Ishāq⁵⁰⁴ has the following report coming from Umm Salamah in connection with the emigration to Abyssinia: "When we descended on Abyssinian lands, we found ourselves in the neighborhood of a good neighbor, the Najāshi. He left us in peace over our religion and we worshipped Allāh, in a manner that nothing untoward happened to us, nor did we hear anything that would displease us. When the Quraysh learnt of these conditions, they consulted amongst themselves and decided that they should send two of their prominent men to Najāshi to speak to him about us. They also decided that they should bring expensive Makkan gifts to him. Of course, the most delightful of things for them was leather. So they collected a lot of leather and did not leave anyone of his high priests without intending a gift for him. They sent 'Abdullah bin Abu Rabi'ah⁵⁰⁵ and 'Amr bin 'Ās instructing them in words, 'Speak to every priest before speaking to Najāshi about them. Then offer the gifts to Najāshi and seek to get our men expelled before he has time to speak to them.' Accordingly, they met every one of his priests and presented gifts marked for him before they spoke to Najāshi. They said to the priests, 'A few of our foolish young men have entered the kingdom. They have abandoned their religion, but have not entered into your religion, adopting an innovative religion that neither you nor we are familiar with...'"

Hadith literature also tells us that the priests agreed with the

⁵⁰⁴ *As-Siyar wal-Maghāzi*, p. 213 and the following pages. See also *Ibn Hishām* (1/413 and the following pages). Its chain is *Hasan*. It has been discussed earlier, and it happens to be the best of the reports on the topic.

⁵⁰⁵ *Hadith* of Ibn Mas'ūd ؓ in the *Musnad* (6/185) through a *Hasan* chain, which has been discussed earlier, and that the one who sent him along with 'Amr, is 'Umārah bin Walid. 'Urjun's preference in his book *Muhammad Rasulullah* (2/24) is to reconcile the reports in the following manner: Quraysh sent a mission after the Muslim emigrants to Abyssinia while a second delegation comprised of 'Amr bin 'Ās and 'Abdullah bin Abu Rabi'ah, the main representatives. They had a follower among them who was 'Umārah bin Walid.

For fuller discussion see his book of above mention (2/21-24).

Quraysh delegation that they would advise Najāshi to order expulsion of the Muslims without speaking to them. But when Najāshi was advised that, he preferred he would rather speak to them directly to hear what they had to say.

When they were brought to him, it was Ja'far bin Abu Tālib who stood up as their spokesman. He explained to Najāshi the truth of the religion that Muhammad ﷺ had brought and the stand that his people had taken against it.

When Najāshi asked them to recite something of what the Messenger ﷺ had brought of revelation, Ja'far read out the opening passages of *Surat Maryam*. Najāshi cried so much that his beard became wet, and the priests cried so much that the books they were carrying got wet.

Then Najāshi spoke to the two Quraysh ambassadors telling them, "This and what Jesus Christ had brought are from the same lamp. Go away. By God I shall never hand them over to you."⁵⁰⁶

⁵⁰⁶ Here a question might arise: Did Najāshi and his priests knew the Arabic language to the extent that they were excited when they listened to the *Qur'ān*?

Suhayli said in his book *Ar-Rawḍul-Unuf* (2/93) commenting on the *Hadith* of 'Āishah ؓ regarding Najāshi gaining power over Abyssinia: "He mentioned the *Hadith* of 'Āishah about Najāshi when Allāh reinstated him as a king over Abyssinia, and that his people happened to have sold him to an Arab trader. Then, when conditions became confused in Abyssinia his people took him back from his master, and restored him." Apparently, the report lends us to believe that they took him from his master before he could bring him to his lands. Another *Hadith* makes it clear that his master was an Arab who took and kept him away a very long time. This is what he means when he says, 'when the conditions became confused in Abyssinia, and the affair became hard upon them ...' to the end. This demonstrates his long absence from them ... It is reported that when the report of Badr reached Najāshi, he informed those of the Muslims who were with him. He sent for them. When they came to him, they found him wearing a ... until the words, 'I am to learn that he and his foes met in a valley called Badr, a place full of Arak trees wherein I used to tend sheep for my master. He was of Banu Damrah. Allāh has defeated his enemies and has helped His religion.' This report proves his long stay in the Arab lands. And, from here, Allāh knows best, he learnt the Arabic language and so understood the *Surat Maryam* when recited to him.

While they were leaving, 'Amr told 'Abdullah, "By God. Tomorrow I shall come up with something that will destroy their peace and comfort."

The next day 'Amr bin 'Ās presented himself to Najāshi once again and told him, "These people say something most intolerable about Jesus Christ." So Najāshi sent for them. When they came in, he asked them about what they thought of Jesus Christ. Ja'far replied, "We say no more than what our Prophet has told us about him that he was Allāh's slave, His Messenger, His Spirit and His Word that He blew into Virgin Mary."

To the above I would like to add that if we admit his stay for a long while in Hijāz, and know of the fact of trade relations between Abyssinia and the possibility of people of the Abyssinian lands learning the Arabic language because of its importance for commercial reasons. It also used to happen to the Muslims to whom the envoys of the Prophet ﷺ used to speak to them in their tongues. Also, if we realize that Abu Nairuz, the freed slave of 'Ali bin Abu Tālib was a son of the Najāshi himself and that 'Ali found him with a trader. He purchased him from him and then released him in return of what his father had done to the Muslims. (See *As-Siyar wal-Maghāzi* of Ibn Ishāq, p. 220), through a *Hasan* chain. This is according to one report. According to another, some people of Abyssinia arrived at Makkah and stayed with Abu Nairuz for a month, suggesting that he return so that they could make him the ruler of the land, but he refused. (The same source as above). If we have all these facts then it does not remain strange for us that Najāshi and his courtiers knew how to speak Arabic. Add to it the fact of ourselves being witness to the situation in non-Arab world. You will find some Muslims memorizing the Qur'ān and deal with without being able to understand its meaning. This of course is one of the miracles of the Qur'ān. (Surely, We have made the Qur'ān easy, so, is there someone to take admonition?) It has also been observed of non-Muslims dealing with the Qur'ān without knowing the Arabic language. According to a report of Ibn Ishāq coming from 'Urwah: the one who used to speak to Najāshi was 'Uthmān bin 'Affān. See *As-Siyar wal-Maghāzi*, pp. 218-219. However more popularly known is that it was Ja'far who used to speak. See Ibn Kathir's *Al-Bidāyah* (3/84), which is what Ibn Ishāq has asserted, refuting 'Urwah. He said, "This is not true. And the reports in this regard, it was Ja'far bin Abu Tālib who used to speak." See Ibn Ishāq's *As-Siyar wal-Maghāzi*, p. 218. The reports in this regard require some attention which we put off for the future, Allāh willing.

At that Najāshi picked up a piece of straw from the ground and said to Ja'far, "Jesus was no more than what you said about him than this straw." He showed no concern for what his priests had to say and granted the Muslims a peaceful stay in his lands. He also returned the gifts the Quraysh had sent.⁵⁰⁷

The Quraysh felt humiliated by the outcome and did not find anyone before them on whom they could expend their anger except that they got tougher with those Muslims who were within their range of action. As for Islam, it had earned Najāshi and 'Amr bin 'Ās to its side.⁵⁰⁸

The Muslims remained there for a period that Allāh (ﷻ) had willed for them. Those who wished, returned after the Muslim emigration to Madinah and before the battle of Badr. Those who returned at that time were thirty-three men and eight women.⁵⁰⁹ The rest of them returned with Ja'far only in the seventh year after *Hijrah*⁵¹⁰ when the Prophet ﷺ had overcome the Khayber problem.

Lessons

1. The movement of some people to Abyssinia legalizes *Hijrah* which is to move from a land of the disbelievers—where worshipping Allāh is made impossible—to another land where He can be worshipped without fear. We will have more to say on this topic when we deal with the Prophet's own *Hijrah*.
2. Sacrifice of one's wealth, homeland, and life are the foundation stones on which this religion rests. If religion is lost, then wealth, homeland and one's life are reduced to insignificance. Indeed, with religion lost, they are also likely to fall into

⁵⁰⁷ See the whole text of the *Hadith* of Umm Salamah in *As-Siyar wal-Maghāzi* by Ibn Ishāq, pp. 213-216, and *Ibn Hishām* (1/413-418).

⁵⁰⁸ The talk about his Islam will come later and as to how it is related to his delegation to Abyssinia.

⁵⁰⁹ *Al-Bukhārī/Al-Fath* (15/87-88/H. 3905); *Al-Fathur-Rabbāni* (20/280) and *Ibn Sa'd* (1/207).

⁵¹⁰ *Al-Bukhārī/Al-Fath* (15/36/H. 3876) and *Ibn Sa'd* (1/208).

oblivion. In contrast, if religion is established and strengthened by society, and faith is well entrenched in the hearts, then the loss of wealth and homeland are likely to be regained in quality and quantity better than that was lost—since they will be then armed with honor, strength and wisdom. *Hijrah* is a kind of hardship borne in the cause of religion by way of sacrifice of wealth and homeland to signify an exchange of hardship greater than the hardship suffered, in the hope of a later victory.

3. It is allowable for Muslims to accept a shelter offered by non-Muslims, if need be, whether such shelter is provided by the People of the Book such as the Christian King Najāshi who later became a Muslim, or pagans such as those under whose protection some Muslims re-entered Makkah, or like Abu Tālib who gave protection to the Prophet ﷺ, or Mu'tim bin 'Adi who accorded him protection when he was returning from Tā'if.⁵¹¹

Najāshi's Islam

In one of his narrations, Ibn Ishāq⁵¹² has reported that after Najāshi's death, the people could see a light emanating from his grave. This leads us to believe that he had embraced the faith of Islam.

Another report says that his people revolted against him because he had become a Muslim and that before he battled against them, he got a ship prepared for the Muslims to be taken out if he were to be defeated. He is also said to have written a letter that spoke of his Islam. That reached the Prophet ﷺ who sought his forgiveness from Allāh when he died.⁵¹³

⁵¹¹ See Buti: *Fiqhus-Sirah*, pp. 100-102.

⁵¹² *Ibn Hishām* (1/420), and its chain is *Sahih*.

⁵¹³ *Ibn Hishām* (1/421), with *Hasan* and *Mursal* chains and it contradicts the *Hadith* of Umm Salamah. Bukhārī and Muslim reported that the Messenger ﷺ mourned the death of Najāshi and said to the Companions: "Seek Allāh's forgiveness for your brother." *Al-Fath* (6/242/H. 1327). This *Hadith* shows that it was Najāshi. See also *Muslim* (2/657/H. 951).

These reports of Ibn Ishāq are in line with the reports in the *Sahihayn* that speak of Najāshi's Islam. Bukhārī⁵¹⁴ and Muslim⁵¹⁵ have preserved the report that the Prophet ﷺ mourned the day he died. That was the 9th year after *Hijrah*. He also offered prayers for him with the Muslims behind him. The two⁵¹⁶ sources⁵¹⁷ have also said that the Prophet ﷺ said, "Today a pious Abyssinian Muslim has died, so let's pray for him."

Muslim's⁵¹⁸ report has it that the Prophet ﷺ said, "Your brother has died, so rise up and pray for him." This report leaves little doubt that he died a Muslim.

Further, the Najāshi who died a Muslim is not the Najāshi whom the Prophet ﷺ invited to Islam when he wrote to him along with the rest of the kings, rulers and monarchs of the surrounding territories. One of Muslim's⁵¹⁹ reports can be used to substantiate this. Due to the fact that the reports do not specifically speak of two Najāshis, Shaykh Arna'ut⁵²⁰ is inclined to believe that the Najāshi over whom the Prophet ﷺ prayed, is the Najāshi to whom he had sent his letter of invitation.

Islam of Hamzah and 'Umar

(a) Hamzah's Islam

The entry of some of the important men of Quraysh into Islam did not prevent the pagans from persecuting the Muslims. In that

⁵¹⁴ *Al-Fath* (6/141/H. 1245) — see the writing of Ibn Hajar in *Al-Fath* (6/228-230) about his conversion to Islam.

⁵¹⁵ See *Sahih Muslim* (2/656/H. 951). In this *Hadith* there is the indication that it was Najāshi. The last two narratives name him as Ashamah.

⁵¹⁶ *Al-Fath* (2/657/H. 1320).

⁵¹⁷ *Sahih Muslim* (2/657/H. 952) but the words are those of *Al-Bukhārī*. *Muslim* wording goes like this: "Today a righteous man Ashamah died."

⁵¹⁸ *Sahih Muslim* (6/657, 658/H. 953).

⁵¹⁹ *Sahih Muslim* (3/1397/H. 1774).

⁵²⁰ His footnotes on *I'lāmus-Sā'ilin 'an Kutub Sayyidil-Mursalīn* by Ibn Tulun, p. 54.

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The Expedition to Banu Qaynuqa'

(a) The Date

Most of the biographers and historians have said that this expedition took place after the battle of Badr. Ibn Hajar⁷ prefers this opinion depending upon the report of Ibn 'Abbās in Abu Dāwud.⁸ He evaluated the report as Good (*Hasan*) and sought strength in another report of 'Ubadah bin Walid as found in Ibn Ishāq.⁹ Zuhri¹⁰ further said that it took place in Shawwāl of the second year after *Hijrah*. Wāqidi¹¹ and Ibn Sa'd¹² have even fixed the day as Saturday, the middle of Shawwāl.

(b) Reasons

Biographical works say that the following were the reasons: First, when the Muslims emerged victorious at Badr, the Jews of Banu Qaynuqa' could not conceal their hatred and enmity of Islam and Muslims. This became evident from their attitude towards the Prophet ﷺ when he gathered them in the market place. He told them there, "O the Jewish people. Embrace Islam before you are struck by what struck the Quraysh at Badr." They replied, "Muhammad. Don't be encouraged by the fact that you killed a bunch of Quraysh who didn't know how to fight. If you happen to meet with us in the battle-field, you'll know that we are men, and that you haven't encountered people like us." Allāh (ﷻ) revealed,

Wāqidi (1/174-175) which mentioned that he was jealous of the Prophet ﷺ at his victory at Badr; and also Ibn Sa'd (2/28) without a chain.

⁷ *Al-Fath* (15/204).

⁸ (3/402-403).

⁹ *Ibn Hishām* (3/71-72) through a Disconnected (*Mursal*) chain.

¹⁰ In *Tārikh* of Tabari (2/4709-80) with a *Mursal* chain.

¹¹ See *Al-Maghāzī* (1/176).

¹² *At-Tabaqāt* (2/28/29) without a chain. To summarize, these are all weak narrations but they strengthen each other raising it to the level of *Hasan li Ghayrihi* as said Dr. Sindi: *Marwiyyāt Tārikhi Yahudil-Madinah, fi 'Ahdin-Nubuwwah*, p. 83.

﴿قُلْ لِلَّهِ كُفْرُوا سَعْتًا وَلَكُنَّ لَكُمْ مَآبٌ ۖ فِي يَوْمَيْنِ آتَيْنَا فِيكُمْ تَحْتِلٌ فِي سَبِيلِ اللَّهِ وَأَخْرَجَ كَافِرًا بِرَدْنِهِمْ وَفَاتِهِمْ رَأَى الْعَيْنِ وَاللَّهُ يُؤَيِّدُ بَصِيرَةَ مَنْ يَشَاءُ إِنَّكَ فِي ذَلِكَ لَنَصِيرَةٌ لِّلَّذِينَ الْإِنْسَانُ﴾

"Say to those who have disbelieved that you will be overcome and then driven to Hell-fire: an evil resting-place. There is a sign for you in the two groups that clashed. One group fighting in the way of Allāh and the other, disbelieving, seeing them twice themselves (in numbers). Allāh helps with His succor whomsoever He wills. Surely, in this is a lesson for a people of sight."¹³

A second reason was that when a Muslim lady visited their markets, one of the shopkeepers tied her garment to a peg without her knowledge. As she got up her legs were bared. She cried for help. One of the Muslims killed the Jew. Other shopkeepers attacked and killed the Muslim. Muslims began to call the help of other Muslims. That led to a confrontation between them and the Banu Qaynuqa'.¹⁴

Even if we accept Ibn Hajar's evaluation of Ibn Ishāq's report as acceptable, as stated under the first reason of Banu Qaynuqa's deportation, it doesn't mean that they were expelled because they refused to embrace Islam. Rather, during this period, Islam was comfortably co-existing with various communities around. The

¹³ *Sunan Abu Dāwud* (3/402/H. 3001) through a chain in which falls Muhammad bin Abu Muhammad, the freed-slave of Zayd bin Thābit, about whom Ibn Hajar thought in his *At-Taqrīb* that he is unknown, p. 505. Despite this he declared it *Hasan* in *Al-Fath* (15/204) as did Dhahabi in *At-Tafsir wal-Mufasssirun* (1/79). Sindi's study suggests that the narrations in this connection strengthen each other to raise them to a level of acceptance. (*Marwiyyāt Tārikhi Yahudil-Madinah, fi 'Ahdin-Nubuwwah*, p. 77). Also see: *Surat Al 'Imrān*: 12-13.

¹⁴ *Ibn Hishām* (3/70) through an unreliable chain for it stops at Abu 'Awn who was a Follower (*Tabi'i*) of young age. Further, the chain is also broken between Ibn Hishām and 'Abdullah bin Ja'far. See Sindi, p. 79, and 'Umari: *Al-Mujtama' Al-Madani*, p. 137, and Albāni, *Difa'*, pp. 26-27.

Madinan document had already given the Jews the right to practice their religion. The reasons for their deportation have to be looked into their continued hostility towards Islam and Muslims. That led to a lack of security in Madinah as is evidenced by what they did to the Muslim lady.¹⁵

Another reason was the machinations of Shās bin Qays of the Banu Qaynuqa'. He passed by a group of Aws and Khazraj Muslims chatting together. The sight of them sitting together as a closely knitted group filled him with envy. He had witnessed the hatred that prevailed among them in the pre-Islamic times. He couldn't sit quiet for long. He asked a Jewish young man to join them in their company and speak of the Bu'āth battle, and what had led to the hostilities. He also instructed him to recite some poetry in favor of one or the other group to provoke them and remind them of those that were killed in that battle. Aws had emerged victorious over the Khazraj in that battle. Aws were then led by Hudhayr bin Simak Ashhali (Abu Usayd bin Hudhayr) and Khazraj by 'Amr bin Nu'mān Bayādi and both were killed in that battle.

The above is Ibn Ishāq's version. Ibn Hishām also has a narration without naming the transmitter. Tabari has reported three versions of this, two of them weak, and a third Good (*Hasan*).

(c) Siege and Deportation

The account of Banu Qaynuqa's exile has been preserved in the *Sahih*¹⁶ works of *Ahādith*. As for details, they are found in the works of Ibn Ishāq,¹⁷ Wāqidi,¹⁸ Ibn Sa'd¹⁹ and historians who followed them.

Details tell us that Banu Qaynuqa' were allies of 'Abdullah bin Ubaiy bin Salul and had proved themselves the most courageous of

the Jews. When their enmity became apparent, the Prophet ﷺ feared treachery on their part. So, he returned to them their pledge of peace following Allāh's commandments for such a situation. It said,

﴿وَأَمَّا خِفَافٌ مِنْ قَوْمٍ جِئَانَهُ فَايْذُ إِلَيْهِمْ عَلَى سَوَاءٍ إِنَّ اللَّهَ لَا يُحِبُّ
الْفَافِينَ﴾

"If you fear treachery on part of a people, then throw back their covenant to them in parity. Surely, Allāh does not approve of the treacherous."²⁰

The Prophet ﷺ laid siege to their forts which lasted fifteen days. When things became difficult for them, they came down on the Prophet's judgement, and that they shall keep their wealth, women and children. So he ordered that they be tied up. At that moment 'Abdullah bin Ubaiy appeared on the scene and began to plead for them saying, "Four hundred unarmored and three hundred armored, who defended me against whites and blacks! Will you make a game of them in half a day?" The Prophet ﷺ told him, "You can have them,"²¹ and ordered that they be deported from Madinah. He made 'Ubādah bin Sāmit in charge of the affair of their departure. They went away to Adhri'āt (a place in Shām). Their properties were given to the charge of Muhammad bin Maslamah. And, after a fifth was removed for the Prophet ﷺ, they were distributed among the Companions.²²

It is noteworthy that their ally 'Ubādah bin Sāmit had disowned them when they confronted the Prophet ﷺ. It was about him and 'Abdullah bin Ubaiy that the following Verse was revealed,

²⁰ Surat Al-Anfāl: 58.

²¹ Ibn Ishāq—*Ibn Hishām* (3/70-71) reported it through an Interrupted (*Munqati'*) chain; *Al-Wāqidi* (177-178), and *Ibn Sa'd* (2/92) without a chain but having the Verse. Ibn Salul's attachment to the Banu Qaynuqa' has been mentioned in two reports of Ibn Ishāq, but both weak, for both stop at 'Asim and 'Ubādah. Nevertheless, each of them strengthens the other to go up to the *Hasan li Ghayrihi* status. Further, the fact that they are mentioned by the biographers and war chroniclers, adds on to the strength. This Sindi said, p. 96.

²² *Ibn Sa'd* (2/92) without a chain.

¹⁵ 'Umari: *Al-Mujtama' Al-Madani*, p. 138.

¹⁶ *Al-Bukhari*/*Al-Fath* (15/203-204/H. 4028), *Sahih Muslim*: 3/1388/H. 1766).

¹⁷ *Ibn Hishām* (3/70-72) with a *Mursal* chain but is strengthened by evidences.

¹⁸ *Al-Maghāzi* (1/176) through a weak chain.

¹⁹ *At-Tabaqāt* (2/29)

﴿يَا أَيُّهَا الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا لَا تَتَّخِذُوا الْيَهُودَ وَالنَّصَارَىٰ أَوْلِيَاءَ بَعْضُهُمْ أَوْلِيَاءُ بَعْضُهُمْ ۚ﴾

"O believers. Do not take the Jews and Christians as your bosom friends. They are true friends unto each other."²³

Lessons and Rules

1. The incident laid bare the Jews' hatred of Islam and their habit of stabbing at the back whenever they got the chance.
2. During this incident, when he pleaded as he did, as well as on many other occasions, 'Abdullah bin Ubaiy's evil role came to light. He was always there to cause trouble, spread mischief, publish rumors and create dissension among the Muslims. These were clear signs of his hypocrisy. Nevertheless, the Prophet ﷺ always dealt with him as if he was a Muslim. The scholars therefore have deducted the rule that for all practical purposes hypocrites should be treated as Muslims leaving their secrets to Allāh Who will deal with them suitably on the Day of Judgement. Another evidence is 'Umar's words, "There were people who were criticized by the revelation during the Prophet's time. The revelation has now stopped. We shall now deal with them according to what we observe of them. Whosoever proves that there is good in him, we shall bring him closer to ourselves. As for his secrets, we do not go after them. Allāh will take account of their secrets. As for him who evinced evil, we shall not trust him and not believe him, even if he says that his intentions were good."²⁴

²³ Surat Al-Mā'idah: 51-52. The story was reported by Ibn Ishāq through a Disconnected (Mursal) chain—Ibn Hishām (3/71-72) that is strengthened by supporting evidences, e.g., Ibn Jarir's report in his *Tafsir* (6/275) through a weak chain for there falls in it 'Atiyyah bin Sa'd who dropped the name of the Companion before him and would not declare whom he heard from. Or, Ibn Marduwayh in his *Tafsir*, narrating through 'Ubādah bin Walid and he through his father, and he through his grandfather 'Ubādah, where it is stated that it was revealed with reference to him. This is stated in Suyuti's *Ad-Durrul-Manthūr* (2/291).

²⁴ *Al-Bukhārī/Al-Fath* (11/67-68/H. 2641).

And the wisdom in dealing with the hypocrites at face value, and, according to their claims, is that people in general should be prevented from playing with the rules and with other people's lives, especially, if room is allowed. The rulers of all times will accuse those they dislike of hypocrisy, and persecute innocent people.²⁵

3. Very close friendship with the non-Muslims is not allowed. Rather, they should be disowned, unless the Muslims are too weak on their own, and are forced to take them as allies. Allāh (ﷻ) said,

﴿لَا يَتَّخِذِ الْمُؤْمِنُونَ الْكَافِرِينَ أَوْلِيَاءَ مِنْ دُونِ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ وَمَنْ يَفْعَلْ ذَلِكَ فَلَيْسَ مِنَ اللَّهِ فِي شَيْءٍ إِلَّا أَنْ تَتَّقُوا مِنْهُمْ تُقَاتُوا﴾

"Believers do not take the disbelievers as bosom friends apart from believers. Whoever did that, is on nothing from Allāh, except when taking precaution against them in prudence."²⁶

Sawiq Expedition

On the fifth of Dhul-Hijjah, twenty-two months after Hijrah, Abu Sufyān came close to the outskirts of Madinah leading two hundred horsemen. He sought the help of Banu Nadir. Then he came down from the 'Uraid side – a Madinan valley along the Harrah mountains—and, after killing two persons and burning some date-palm trees, retreated hastily. When the Muslims came to know about what had happened, they rushed out in chase going up to Qarqaratul-Kudr but could not lay their hands on him. On the way they picked up lots of sacks filled with flour (Sawiq in Arabic) that Abu Sufyān's party had relieved themselves of in order to decrease their weight. When they returned along with the Prophet ﷺ they asked him, "Do you think this will be counted as an expedition in the way of Allāh?" He said yes and it was named "Expedition of the Flour (Ghazwatus-Sawiq)."²⁷

²⁵ See Buti: *Fiqhus-Sirah*, pp. 182-183.

²⁶ Surat Al 'Imrān: 28. See the details of this case story in *Al-Wala' wal-Bara' fil-Islam* by Muhammad bin Sa'eed Qahtāni.

²⁷ Ibn Ishāq reported it through an authentic chain—Ibn Hishām (3/65-66), but